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AD HOC IAC COMMITTEE (WATCH)

Minutes of Meeting Held in Director's Conference Room, Administration Building Central Intelligence Agency, on 18 December 1953

> Mr. Huntington D. Sheldon Presiding

#### MEMBERS PRESENT

Mr. William C. Trueheart, Office of the Special Assistant, Intelligence, Department of State

Dr. Sam McKee, G-2, Department of the Army (Substitute for Brigadier General John M. Willems)

Captain D. T. Eller (USN), Assistant Head, Intelligence Branch, ONI, Department of the Navy

Brigadier General Millard Lewis, Deputy Director Intelligence, Headquarters USAF, United States Air Force

Dr. Charles H. Reichardt, Intelligence Division, Atomic Energy Commission

Colonel Neil M. Wallace, Joint Intelligence Group, The Joint Staff (Substitute for Captain E. T. Layton)

Mr. Meffert W. Kuhrtz, Special Agent, Liaison Section, Federal Bureau of Investigation

#### ALSO PRESENT

Col. George R. Hundt, United States Air Force Mr. Samuel S. Rockwell, United States Air Force

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Acting Secretary

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The CHAIRMAN asked if there were any comments on the minutes of the Seventh Meeting as distributed.

COL. WALLACE pointed out a typographical error on paragraph 1 of page 5 wherein the second word of the fifth line should be "then". He then asked that the second paragraph on page 6 be modified by adding "structure" after the word command in the last line.

The CHAIRMAN asked if there were any additional comments and receiving none, stated that the minutes stood approved as amended.

He then asked General Lewis if he had a solution to the problem of creating an acceptable definition of "PARAMILITARY" as it appeared in paragraph C, 2, b of the tentatively approved draft terms of reference.

GENERAL LEWIS replied that he had found the word, as generally used, to be rather restrictive. He said that he had attempted to attack the problem from a different approach, one in which he sought to record what it was that the committee was concerned about and then to label each individual item. The first area, he said, was one involving direct military actions in the traditional sense; a second area concerned military support actions; a third was paramilitary (which usually meant operations by guerrilla or partisan forces) and finally there were subversive actions. He pointed out that from this perspective the use of MILITARY and PARA-MILITARY did not cover the interest of the committee and therefore recommended that "Hostile Action" be used in lieu of both of them.

He further suggested that the terms of reference include, as an appendix, a list of definitions which would enumerate those actions, or activities, which the committee considered implicit in their use of MILITARY and PARAMILITARY.

The CHAIRMAN said he agreed with General Lewis' expose remarking that while he had accepted the committee's earlier desire to limit the Mission he had been opposed personally to such a narrowing. He then asked the committee for comments.

COL. WALLACE suggested that insertion of "indications of hostile action" might alleviate the concern which had prompted General Lewis' remarks.

MR. TRUEHEART remarked that it might be appropriate for the Committee to defer the question of a definition of PARAMILITARY until the indicator list had been formalized.

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GENERAL LEWIS replied that he believed there was a direct relationship between mission and indicators and that in this instance the committee was trying to define the scope of its responsibilities which in turn would limit the number of indicators to be considered.

The CHAIRMAN remarked that in order to procure the longest lead time possible in warning of an eventual hostile act, the scope of concern must be broad and that the Mission must not set a narrow limit on the breadth of the Committee's substantive considerations.

MR. TRUEHEART said that he was concerned about broadening the mission of the committee to the extent that an undesirable diffusion of its effort would be achieved. He added that in this vein, he believed a coup in Guatemala should be examined by the committee in an effort to discern the hand of the Soviets, but should not be examined with the intent of forecasting results. Thus the list of indicators should be extremely broad, but the Mission must be sharply focused.

GENERAL LEWIS remarked that the desired degree of focus could be achieved by examining all events or acts only in the light of their relation to the imminence of hostilities.

The CHAIRMAN briefly reviewed past discussions pertinent to the evolution of the Mission and Functions as now tentatively agreed.

DR. REICHARDT asked whether it were easier to broaden, or limit, a term by definition, starting in the first case with PARAMILITARY and in the second with "hostile actions".

COL. WALLACE suggested that "hostile actions" was broad enough to include all the items which appeared to be of concern to the committee.

MR. TRUEHEART said he felt that this was too broad.

GENERAL LEWIS replied that his efforts had been in an attempt to both broaden and limit, if that were possible, the scope of the committee's responsibilities to a mutually acceptable point.

MR. TRUEHEART then suggested that "armed activities", as proposed in the committee's third draft, dated 27 November 1953, be deleted and "acts of violence" be substituted.

DR. MCKEE pointed out that a government might be overthrown without violence and suggested instead that "clandestine or revolutionary actions" be added to MILITARY and PARAMILITARY.

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GENERAL LEWIS said that he had prepared a number of copies of a possible definition of the extent of the committee's concern and asked that they be distributed.

The SECRETARY circulated copies of the proposed definition.

GENERAL LEWIS said that it appeared to him that the committee members were all talking about the same thing but called them by different names, and that for this reason a definitive appendix should be attached to the terms of reference. He recommended that the Mission and Functions paragraphs therein be broadened by replacing MILITARY and PARAMILITARY with "hostile action" or "other actions", or "hostile activity".

DR. REICHARDT suggested that an asterisk after the word "action" could be the means to refer to an appendix and that if it were the action that was defined rather than PARAMILITARY it might be easier to arrive at an acceptable definition.

The CHAIRMAN said that in either case a definitive appendix seemed desirable.

DR. MCKEE reflected that it was desirable to limit the action being considered but that such limitation should not restrict the indications discussed by the committee. He said that concern with actions, or activities, that might undesirably affect the welfare of the country would involve too broad a field but that the committee should expand its consideration beyond the strict military limits which now governed its activities.

The CHAIRMAN said that this problem was the essence of the non-unanimity of agreement in the committee.

CAPTAIN ELLER said he thought the committee was close together and that he believed the effect of an indicator list, as part of an Intelligence Plan, would be to limit the scope of considerations. He said he agreed that the functions of the Watch Committee were a mechanic to spell out just what, and how, the Watch Committee would do its job, and that he felt that the development of an intelligence plan would provide guide lines for tailoring either the Mission or the Functions.

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The CHAIRMAN asked who would write the plan, suggesting that one solution might be to require the Working Group to prepare it, provided that the committee could agree upon a clear-cut statement of the mission, organization and manning of the Working Group.

MR. TRUEHEART observed that the Working Group could not produce a Plan without specific guidance.

The CHAIRMAN remarked that the required guidance would stem directly from the Mission and Functions which were being evolved by the committee and suggested that the definitions and actions proposed by General Lewis be examined as they were pertinent to establishing the scope of both the Mission and the Functions.

GENERAL LEWIS asked that the committee voice its thoughts regarding the substance of the proposed PARAMILITARY definition, and avoid commenting on specific words.

DR. HEICHARDT asked if it were intended that the Watch Committee concern itself with long range activities, or address itself only to those reflecting an immediacy of hostilities.

The CHAIRMAN said he would answer DR. REICHARDT's question by two examples, stating he believed that the Watch Committee, if advised by the Bureau that an increase in espionage was noticeable, should assess this information as to the possibility of it indicating forthcoming hostilities but that the committee should not concern itself with espionage per se although it was obvious that espionage affected the security of the U.S. He offered as a second example one in which economic developments that might reflect an ultimate hostile act would be considered as information concerning them became available, saying that reports should not be forthcoming until such time as cumulative evidence conclusively reflected an indication of preparation for hostilities.

He then asked what was the reaction of the committee to his concept as reflected in these examples, adding that the isolation of definitive economic indicators was still a long way off.

MR. TRUEHEART said that it was in agreement with his own views.

COL. WALLACE said that he also agreed.

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GENERAL LEWIS said that he agreed in principle, adding that he interest had become sufficiently sophisticated in their approach to the indications problem to achieve a warning measured in weeks, but that the further away from the actual attack that information was examined, the more difficult it became to derive clear conclusions.

The CHAIRMAN, returning to the popposed definition of PARAMILITARY, said if "in support of military strategy" were added after the word "individual" in paragraph 1 of the paper, and perhaps again at the end of paragraph 2, d, that his objections would be overcome.

MR. TRUEHEART remarked that if the proposed definition, including the addition, were adopted it could result in the Watch Committee believing it had the conclusive responsibility to state clearly after each deliberation, for example, that there were no indications of impending strikes or assassinations of key political leaders, etc. He continued saying that while he agreed that such things must be considered, they must be examined only as they reflect upon hostilities.

He said that although he was satisfied with sub paragraph C, 2, b, he would not be opposed to deleting it — considering that paragraph 2, a, 2, required the committee to conclude at each session if there were, for example, indications of the imminence of hostilities in the delta region of French Indochina.

DR. MCKEE suggested that all facets of activity implied in paragraph C, 2, b, were indications of the activity of primary interest, i.e., hostilities.

DR. REICHARDT said that if sub-paragraph b were cut down, or eliminated, the question of developments in the Belgian Congo though important to the Commission would not necessarily be considered by the Watch Committee and that he believed that the Watch Committee should not be so limited.

The CHAIRMAN determined it was the sense of the meeting that the activities in General Lewis' proposal were well within the purview of the Watch Committee's Mission and Functions so long as they were considered only in the light of their reflection upon the imminence of hostilities, whether it be immediate or long range.

He remarked that if paragraph 2 of General Lewis' proposal could be clearly labeled as pertaining only to their relations to the imminence of hostilities it would appear to approach the desire of the meeting.

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GENERAL LEWIS suggested that paragraph C, 2, of the proposed draft terms of reference be modified by inserting "relating to the imminence of hostilities" after agencies. This he said would keep the mission broad, while limiting the functions to a degree consistent with the desires of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN said that was what he had in mind and that presumably the committee would later revert to a consideration of the desirability of inserting Military, Paramilitary, Military Support and Subversive Actions in the Mission, with a note to the effect these terms were defined in an appendix.

MR. TRUEHEART observed that such a modification might not keep the mission narrow enough to be discharged effectively by the Watch Committee.

The CHAIRMAN said that he considered the words of the proposed definition as providing guide lines to assist the Watch Committee and its integral working group to delineate the parameters of their considerations. He said that he thought the committee was in agreement as to the philosophy involved, but was having trouble finding the right words to reflect the desired concept.

MR. TRUEHEART said that when all was said and done, the Ad Hoc Committee had to tell the Watch Committee what it would, and would not, do; pointing out that the Ad Hoc Committee had been so charged by the IAC in its letter of activation.

The CHAIRMAN said that the Director of Central Intelligence proposed to circulate the terms of reference developed by the Ad Hoc Committee to the NSC for just that reason.

He then directed the attention of the Committee to the definition before them and asked if the committee would accept the paper, provided it adequately reflected imminence of hostility within the context of the military strategy of the opposing forces.

MR. KUHRTZ said he would agree.

DR. REICHARDT said he also would agree.

MR. TRUEHEART remarked that this might not leave it bread enough.

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GENERAL LEWIS said it was agreeable to him but that he would like to ask the committee to comment on the inclusiveness of the types of actions presently listed. He suggested that if each member contributed additional material, the resultant enumeration would include all types of actions, or activities, that were pertinent to the philosophy expressed by the committee.

The CHAIRMAN remarked that this would be a constructive action toward the establishment of guide lines for the development of an indicator list.

MR. TRUEHEART said that certainly the mission paragraph should establish the scope of the committee's considerations but that he felt all of the activities suggested by the definition paper were implicit in the Mission as now stated. He continued saying that, if the activities proposed by General Lewis were included in the mission paragraph, it would result in the list of indicators being so long and so detailed that it would be unmanageable.

The CHAIRMAN pointed out that the activities which General Lewis asked to be defined were but parameters of words yet to be proposed and that the former would be attached as an appendix to the draft terms of reference.

GENERAL LEWIS summarized the proposals resulting from discussion of his definitions as:

- 1. to replace all words in the Mission and Functions paragraph (C, 2, b) with a general statement like "hostile actions" or just "actions".
- 2. adding "other hostile actions" to the Mission paragraph and "or other hostile actions" to sub-paragraph C, 2, b.
- 3. to secure agreement on titles for the activities defined in his paper, then, where appropriate, include these in the Mission and Functions paragraphs of the draft terms of reference.

CAPTAIN ELLER pointed out that the word "indications" did not now appear in the stated mission of the Watch Committee and suggested that its addition might yet be necessary.

The CHAIRMAN agreeing, suggested that the Committee had arrived at a good stopping point and asked that each of the committee members review all aspects of General Lewis' proposed definition before their next meeting. There being no further business to come before the committee the meeting adjourned at 12:30 P. M.